

**SECRET**

Executive Registry

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7 July 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Helms  
 Col. White *W*

Attached is a listing of likely questions and suggested answers for Admiral Raborn's use prior to his 17 July Meet the Press program. Attached also is a letter which I propose to send to the Admiral, if this is acceptable to you.

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 I conferred with [redacted] George Moran, [redacted]  
 Jack Earman, Tom Parrott, Larry Houston and Sherman Kent in the preparation of all of this. In general, I think it fair to say that there is a consensus of agreement with the thrust of what is contained here. All of us bear in mind that this is not like the writing of a speech. The best we can hope for is to alert the Admiral to likely questions and outline some thoughts which he can develop in responding.

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[redacted]  
 I have also been asked to make copies of the final package available to some of the Agency components. I do not think this is desirable and will make no dissemination, if you agree.

[redacted]  
 E. H. Knoche

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DIRECT OR PERSONAL

Q. Admiral Raborn, why did you accept appointment as Director of Central Intelligence, and then resign after only fourteen months in that post?

A. I accepted appointment because the President asked me to take the position. At the time, the President told me I could remain at the job as long as he was President or until such time as I felt that the best available successor was ready to relieve me. There was no question in my mind, when I tendered my resignation, that Richard Helms, my successor as Director of Central Intelligence, was eminently qualified for the post and the President agreed.

Q. When did you send your letter of resignation to the President?

A. In early June. The President gave me due notice of his acceptance, of his regret at my departure, and of his appreciation of my work. The President announced my resignation on June 18.

Q. Are you returning to Aerojet or some other executive position in big business?

A. I am returning to the Aerojet-General Corporation as a senior officer.

Q. Is it true that within the CIA there was criticism of your alleged lack of knowledge of foreign countries, of your alleged failure to really get deeply interested in the intelligence side of the Agency?

A. I suppose there may have been a few people in the Agency who may have felt that way, but certainly the Agency continued to do its job effectively and efficiently, and I can assure you that I lived, ate, and slept intelligence all the time I was Director. The work of the Agency is so important that its people have always turned to and done their job.

Q. The statement has been made several times in the press that morale suffered at CIA during your tenure there. Do you have any comment on this?

A. I just do not believe this to be true. Among CIA personnel, dedication to work and loyalty to government are the keynotes. Lowered morale would have reflected itself in lowered effectiveness. Effectiveness was always high.

Q. Were you frustrated and upset by Press and Congressional criticism of your work?

A. No. As President Truman once said, if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen. The President was satisfied with my work and after all he is the CIA's principal customer. As a public official I expected criticism, some fair, some foul. It's part of official life.

Q. What have you done, in your own opinion, to better the CIA, what impact have you left as a result of your 14 months of leadership?

A. Among things I feel free to discuss, we initiated new management methods based upon long-range planning to meet the requirement of having the world's best intelligence service at reasonable cost. We developed new and improved machinery to insure that our government's top policy-making officers were kept advised, in a timely way, of significant international developments. These, I think, are the two primary accomplishments.

Q. Reviewing your multi-faceted duties in intelligence as the Director of Central Intelligence, as Director of CIA, as the President's principal adviser on foreign intelligence, what one thing in all these jobs has given you the most satisfaction of having done well for our country?

A. It is of course a high honor and privilege to serve the President in any capacity. I get particular satisfaction from the association with some of the most capable, professional, and dedicated men and women I have ever known. The U.S. Government and the American people are well-served by those who work in the intelligence field.

Q. Did you have anything to do with the President's selection of Richard Helms, your Deputy, to succeed you as Director of Central Intelligence?

A. Yes. Mr. Helms has spent more than 20 years in the intelligence business. He is an intelligence "pro" in every sense of the word. He is well-known and highly regarded by the Congress and the government's

top executives. He has all the necessary experience to make it a certainty, in my mind, that he will be an effective and successful Director.

Q. What is your opinion of the competence of Mr. Helms as a professional intelligence officer and of the view he will be more successful in the intelligence community and with the Congress than you had been?

A. Mr. Helms has a deep and keen knowledge of international affairs; he is fluent in French and in German, has lived and worked abroad as a student, intelligence officer and as a newspaper correspondent, attended schools in Switzerland and in Germany -- he's the tops in the field of foreign intelligence.

Missions/Functions

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## MISSIONS AND FUNCTIONS

Q. What is the meaning of the CIA?  
Why does it exist? Is a secret Agency  
compatible with our free and democratic  
society?

A. CIA's fundamental and essential role is in collecting and assessing information and reporting to U. S. government leaders on the political, economic, social, and military conditions in foreign countries. Our policy-makers cannot be left to do their jobs in the dark. They've got to know the facts. CIA supplies the facts and the estimates of what is likely to happen.

Pearl Harbor taught us the value of and need for the best possible intelligence. This country must never again be caught by surprise, particularly in this day and age when mass destruction could occur so quickly.

The CIA is also responsible for certain types of work that must be done quietly, inconspicuously, without fanfare, as directed by higher authority.

**Q. I understand that CIA's covert action programs are very extensive and very expensive. Are they really necessary now when our relations with the USSR have improved?**

**A. Yes. This is a question I cannot answer in detail. But this much, I believe, is certain. Our country cannot foreswear any tool, any service, any advantage, any weapon which may be of use in preserving our security and in meeting any challenge to our way of life. As in the case of military weapons, we can hope not to have to use them, but they should be in our arsenal.**

Q. What are the duties of the DCI?  
What are CIA's specific responsibilities?  
What is the intelligence community (USIB)?

A. The duties of the Director, as prescribed by law, derive from the law which established the CIA in 1947. He is the intelligence adviser to the National Security Council and the President. He is the man who must coordinate the total foreign intelligence effort (CIA is only one of several Agencies in the intelligence field.) And, of course, he is Director of the CIA.

The intelligence community is best shown by listing those agencies which comprise the U. S. Intelligence Board, or USIB. Chairman of USIB is the Director of Central Intelligence. USIB members are the Deputy Director of CIA, the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the head of the intelligence bureau of the State Department, the Director of the National Security Agency and the chiefs of the intelligence components in the FBI, and the Atomic Energy Commission. The heads of Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence meet with USIB as observers.

USIB is in effect a kind of board of directors overseeing the government's foreign intelligence work. It meets weekly; sometimes, in crisis, more frequently. One of its major tasks is the establishment of priority questions in need of answers. Another is the preparation of national intelligence estimates for the President and his policy-making officials, the key assessments or appraisals of foreign situations and outlook.

Q. Are the National Intelligence Estimates the responsibility of the Director of Central Intelligence or are they, as some claim, "a common denominator" type of agreement by USIB as a committee?

A. They are the responsibility of the Director of Central Intelligence. The members of USIB who dissent from any part of an NIE make their dissent a matter of record in the document itself, so it is known what is not agreed to, and by whom. Thus, an estimate clearly states pro and con, agreement and disagreement. Under this system we do not reach watered-down or "common denominator" conclusions.

Q. Is U. S. intelligence accomplishing or failing, improving or declining?

A. No intelligence official worth his salt anywhere in the world would ever claim to be satisfied so long as any questions remain unanswered. But I am convinced that U. S. intelligence is good and getting better. Some of the best minds -- analytic and scientific -- are working in the intelligence field. The importance of intelligence is growing; our ability to develop improved and sophisticated means to acquire information is likewise growing.

Q. What are the needs of CIA in personnel? What types of professional people do you have and need? What type of clerical and other non-professional people do you have and need? Do you recruit openly like other government agencies? How many people are there employed by CIA?

A. The CIA is always, day in and day out seeking graduates with advanced degrees from accredited colleges and universities. Intellect and character and willingness to serve one's country are attributes we look for. We need generalists in every discipline; specialists with foreign languages and knowledge of foreign countries; men and women with universal minds who in many cases work anonymously. About 80% of the Agency's employees have college degrees; about 20% have Master's or Doctor's degrees. Service with CIA is most rewarding, as it makes one a part of the defense of the security of the United States. A quarter of CIA's professional personnel have been with the Agency for more than 15 years and 77% have had ten years or more of intelligence experience. Like other government agencies and private business concerns, we recruit openly, sending teams to many colleges and universities. We advertise in newspapers, magazines and professional journals. CIA employees come from over 600 different colleges and universities. The number of CIA employees cannot be divulged; this is a statutory requirement.

Q. How good is the opposition?

A. Our "opposition" -- the Communist intelligence apparatus -- is highly skilled and professional. Their operatives are more numerous than ours, their budget is larger, and they have been active in the field for a longer time than we have. The U. S. didn't really begin to develop an intelligence service until we found ourselves in World War Two and had to have one. As a matter of fact, we did not have a central intelligence organization until after World War Two.

Q. Has the CIA ever been penetrated by foreign enemy agents?

A. Not to my knowledge. But CIA is never complacent about this. There is elaborate screening and testing of all prospective employees and recurrent security checks on all employees. This is necessary because we know that the Agency is a top target for penetration by the opposition.

Q. Are security leaks or political pressures causes of worry to the CIA?

A. Disclosures of classified information -- inadvertent or otherwise -- are damaging and a source of great concern. As to "political pressures," the CIA is politically neutral. Its job is to report facts -- objectively and without passion or coloring. There is no "political pressure" on the Agency, and for their part, Agency personnel are non-political.

Q. Does the Agency have any internal security or police powers within the United States?

A. None, other than to look to the internal security of the CIA. The FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover, is responsible for the internal security of the United States.

Q. Why do some Congressmen and some of the Press criticize the CIA for fulfilling the reasons for which it was established? Are such critics "stupid," uninformed, do they not understand what the Communist nations do to penetrate our secrets? How do you explain the statements by some that the Agency is doing its job well but that it should not exist?

A. Some, I suppose, say these things to get the headlines. Some say them because it is fashionable in some circles to knock the CIA. As the President said recently, when Mr. Helms was sworn in as my successor, "Praised or damned (and we are living in an era where men who spend all their time concerned with the protection of the security of their country are frequently damned more than they are praised) these men must go about their work without standing up for bows and of speaking out in their own defense."

The point is, the CIA does an essential job. I'm proud to have been a part of it. I see an obvious, compelling need for its continued existence and I intend to tell everyone I see how important the work is and how worthy the CIA is of the confidence of the American people.

Controls

CONTROLS

Q. The charge is often made that the CIA has so much power and money that it carries on its own foreign policies without regard to other U. S. interests and beyond the control of the State Department. Is this true or false?

A. The charge is false. The CIA operates within U. S. policy guidance and is thoroughly responsive to a number of various types of controls and checks and balances.

Q. What form of controls are placed upon the Agency?

A. First and foremost, the CIA is part of the Executive Department. It is subordinate to the President and the National Security Council. Members of the National Security Council include the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

Important matters concerning CIA's work are reviewed by a special committee, consisting of representatives from the State and Defense Departments, the White House staff and the CIA. This committee was established by direction of the National Security Council in 1955.

Overseas, our representatives are subordinate to the Ambassadors, who are the chiefs of American diplomatic missions.

In Washington, there is the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, first established under President Eisenhower in 1956.

Currently this Board, chaired by Mr. Clark Clifford, includes such other eminent Americans as Dr. William O. Baker, Mr. Gordon Gray, Dr. William Langer, Mr. Robert Murphy, Mr. Frank Pace, Jr., Dr. Edwin Land, General Maxwell Taylor and Admiral John Sides.

The Board meets regularly with the Director of Central Intelligence and heads of other intelligence agencies and looks into the accomplishments or shortcomings of the entire U.S. intelligence effort. Special subcommittees of the Board are in continuous session. The Board is a very constructive force.

In addition, the CIA budget is reviewed fully by the Bureau of the Budget, which requires the same assurances and justifications for expenditures of intelligence agencies that it requires from any other part of our government. The CIA is not immune from detailed examination of our requests by the Bureau, nor are we exempt from its skillful pruning knife.

As to Congress, ever since the CIA was established, the Director has been authorized and directed to keep special subcommittees of the House and Senate fully informed of CIA activities and CIA assessments of international situations. In the House, the Appropriations Committee and Armed Services Committee each have a special subcommittee for this purpose. There are corresponding subcommittees in the Senate. CIA is completely responsive to

questions from these subcommittees, no matter how sensitive. Meetings are frequent. In my first 12 weeks as Director I met 17 times with these Congressional groups. For 1965, the Director or senior officers met 34 times with the four subcommittees.

Q. Would you say this is an adequate substitute for supervision by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate?

A. I don't think the two situations are at all comparable. (As I have said) the organization of Congressional committees is a matter for Congress to decide itself. This Board was appointed by the President of the United States and is directly responsible to him, just as the Director of Central Intelligence is. The Board serves the President directly in scrutinizing the activities of the intelligence agencies in detail. The existence of the Board, however, does insure an objective review by distinguished citizens who are not members of the government of all of the activities of the CIA and the intelligence community.

Q. In your view, are these controls effective? Can we be assured that CIA's actions are in keeping with U.S. foreign policy objectives as agreed by the State Department and the National Security Council?

A. Yes. I believe the controls are effective. And they reflect the typical American political tradition of prudent checks and balances. The CIA is, like other agencies of government, an instrument of service and dedicated to pursuing national objectives in support of agreed policy.

Q. Senator Fulbright and Senator McCarthy have said that CIA makes foreign policy and, therefore, that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should participate in control of the Agency.

A. CIA's main job is to produce finished national intelligence for the President and other policymakers on any activities or events abroad which may affect the national security. This is, therefore, one of the bases on which policy is made, but the Agency does not itself make or recommend policy. I am not going to talk about or respond to questions about classified activities of the Agency except that it does nothing except in response to policy guidance from outside the Agency.

Q. Are you in agreement with Senator Russell that his Senate Armed Service Committee, "by rules and practices of the Senate" has the principal Congressional authority over the CIA?

A. This is a matter for the Senate or the Congress to decide. A Congressman is in far better position than I to decide on how to organize a Congressional body to do a job.

Q. Do you agree with Vice President Humphrey who in a HEARST panel discussion said he favored in the Legislative Branch a counterpart to the National Security Council . . . "where you put the whole oversight of national security into one, orderly joint committee where the Congress can discuss the whole range of foreign and national security policy. All matters, including Central Intelligence operations could be freely discussed."

A. If the Congress establishes such a committee, and the President so directs, the CIA would of course comply and participate.

It is my personal view, however, that any administration might find some practical political difficulties in this. Joint committees can and do work but usually in specialized fields like printing, economics, and atomic energy. One on national security affairs would cover such a broad field that I believe there would be serious jurisdictional problems between the Executive and Legislative Departments.

Q. Is there reason to fear for security of some Congressional bodies, say the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as Senator Russell has indicated?

A. Inadvertent disclosures of classified information have a way of damaging our foreign policy interests. I have no reason to believe that the members of Congress have any less interest in protecting the national interest than officials of the Executive Branch.

I will say this, never in the history of CIA relationships with the four select Congressional committees with which the Agency deals has there been a security breach. These committees are, of course, fully familiar with the sensitivity of the information given them by the Agency.

Specifics

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS AND SPECIFIC ISSUES

Q. Can you tell us how the CIA contributes as regards the making of American policy in Vietnam; how you personally feel about the President's policy there?

A. Agency personnel in Vietnam are under the control of Ambassador Lodge and participate in the work of the Embassy there as required. In Washington, CIA experts on Vietnam produce daily intelligence reports as a vital contribution to our government's consideration of the issues.

The CIA, of course, is not responsible for deciding matters of policy, but is in position to advise policy-makers on the consequences or likely international results of any given policy decision. We supply this advice when we are asked for it and we are asked frequently.

(Personal views on Vietnam - up to Admiral Raborn.)

Q. How deep is the Sino-Soviet split? What are the implications of this rift?

A. There is little question in my mind that Moscow's and Peiping's views on various international issues are in fundamental divergence. I personally believe however that we cannot take much solace from this. Crises will be with us for a long time to come, I'm afraid. We've got to keep our guard up.

Q. How important do you believe the factor of world opinion should be in formulation of American foreign policy?

A. I believe that world opinion is sufficiently important to ensure that a due regard for it is among those things to be considered before a foreign policy decision is made but I believe also that world opinion must not be allowed to be the decisive factor. Very little would be done if it were so allowed.

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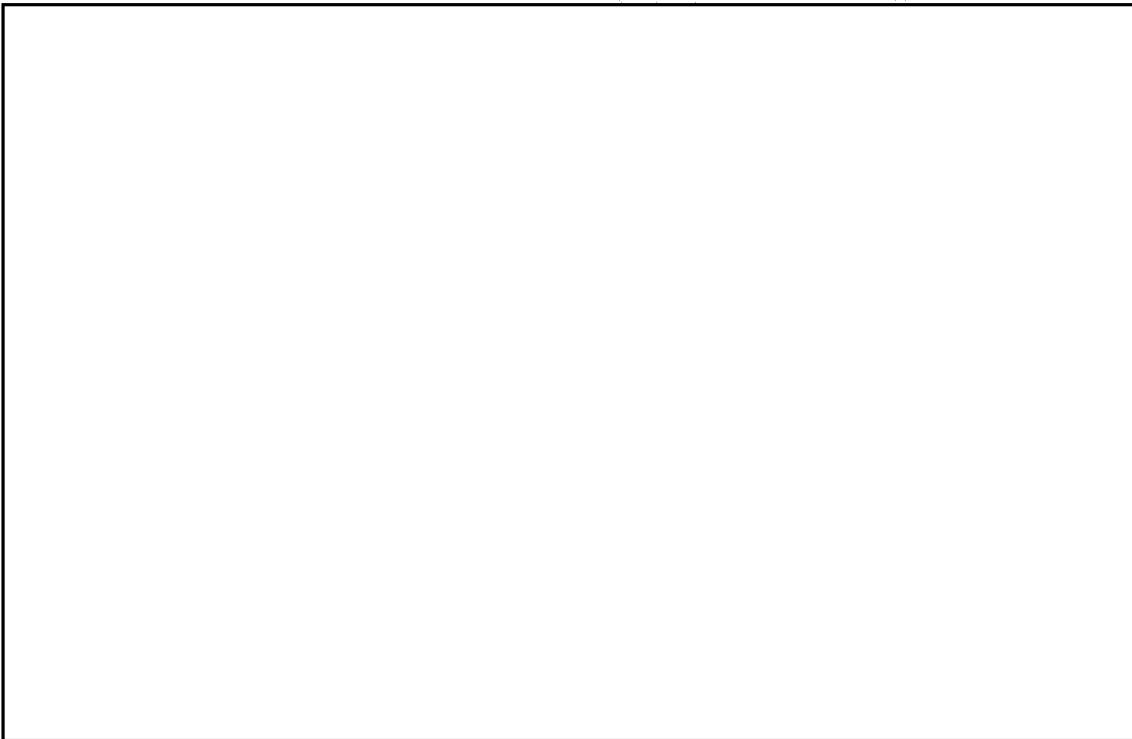
Q. A lot of universities seem to think they should not have anything to do with CIA and claim that Michigan State University was used as a cover for CIA operations.

A. MSU was not used in any way as a cover for CIA operations.

The University had an AID contract for police training in Southeast Asia and neither AID nor the University had people with the knowledge and expertise required for the training program.

The Agency had people so qualified and at the request of AID, and with the knowledge of MSU, detailed employees to this program, and these employees were merely a part of the police training team. As to the relations with universities generally, I see no reason why the U. S. Government should not get the benefit of the vast knowledge and research capabilities of the academic community, and research for the U. S. Government does not in any way affect academic freedom nor should it in any way impugn the reputations of the U. S. universities in this country or abroad. The national security is faced with an enormous variety of complex problems that need the best minds to work on them wherever they can be found. We accept cooperation in these matters; we certainly do not twist arms to get it.

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**Q. Recently, George Carver, a CIA official, had an article on Vietnam published in FOREIGN AFFAIRS without identification as a Government employee. Senator Fulbright asked if CIA would have cleared an article for publication by a CIA employee if such article were critical of the Administration. What's your answer?**

**A. CIA employees do not publish articles as a means of supporting or criticizing the policies of the Administration. On rare occasions, when an Agency employee does submit an article for publication, Agency regulations require that it not violate security or disclose classified information.**

Q. ISVESTIA charges CIA is using American visitors to the USSR as spies. Is it a false or true charge?

A. ISVESTIA and its propaganda efforts can sound pretty silly at times.

Q. Does the Soviet Union spy in the U. S. and if so who is their chief spy?

A. Of course it does. The Chief of the Soviet intelligence department -- the KGB -- is Vladimir Semichastry.

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Q. There have been a number of newspaper and magazine stories about an ex-RAF pilot named Hawke who is under indictment for illegally exporting B-26 airplanes to Portugal. He has said publicly that he was authorized to fly these planes to Portugal by CIA and that this will be his defense. What authority does CIA have to authorize such a transaction?

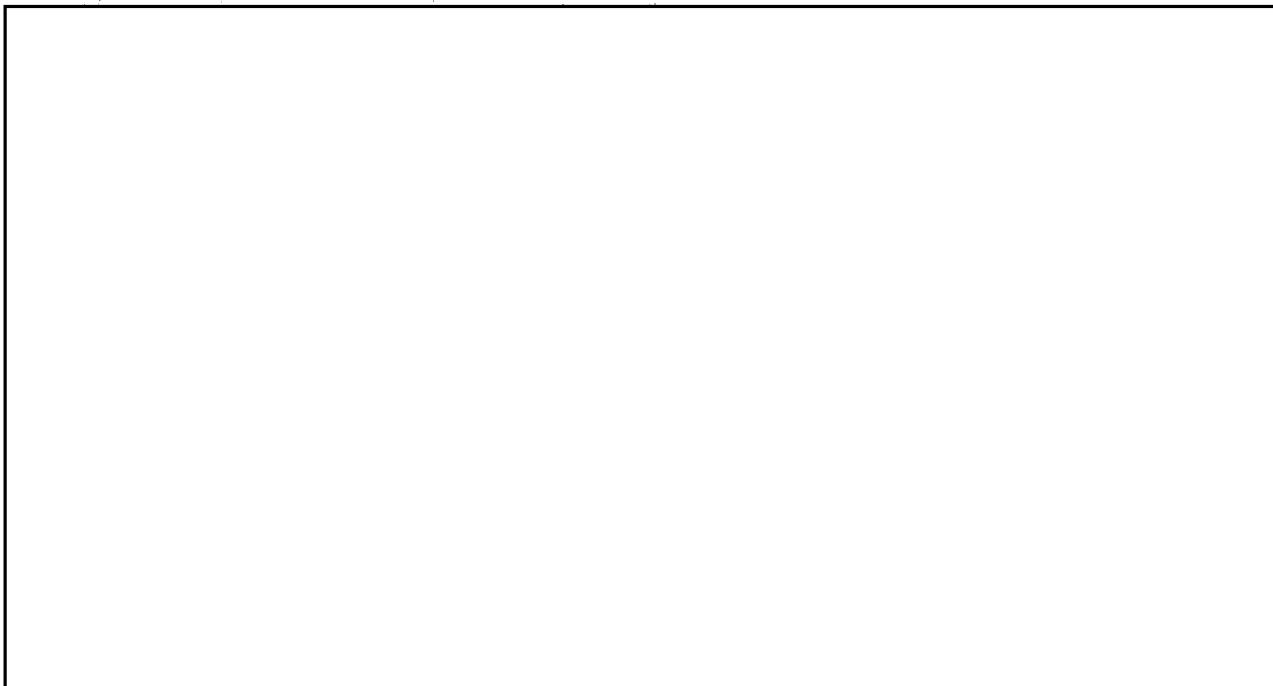
A. Normally I would not comment on a specific question of this kind, but in this case, CIA has denied any involvement with Hawke. CIA never employed or utilized Hawke in any capacity or took any part in the transfer of B-26's to Portugal.

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Q. Is General Edward Lansdale a CIA representative in Vietnam and is his pacification plan a CIA plan?

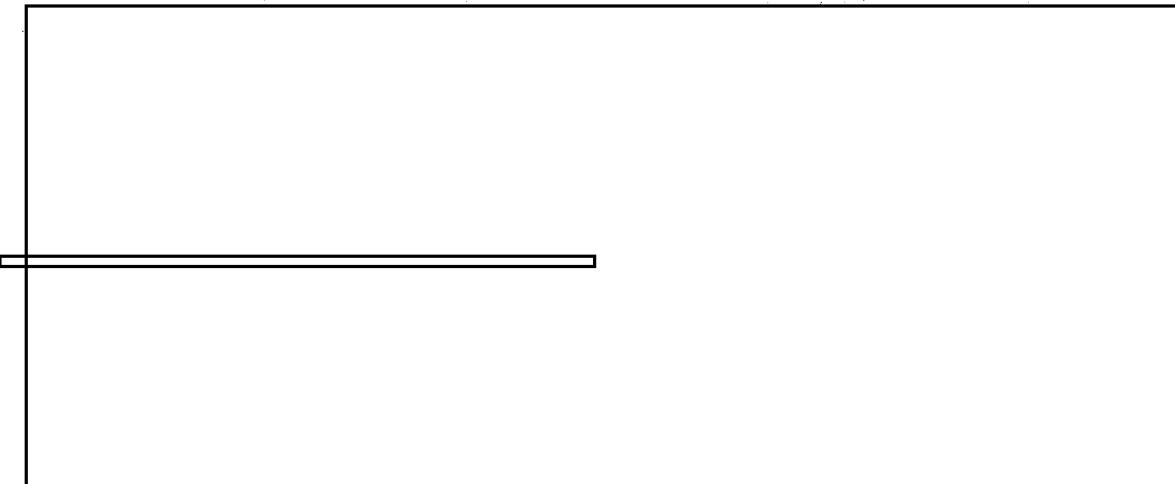
A. General Lansdale is not a CIA representative in Vietnam. CIA is interested in and helps with U. S. efforts to pacify areas in South Vietnam previously under Viet Cong control and to help the South Vietnamese to improve their social and economic situations.

Q. Was the Berlin tunnel a CIA project? Was CIA responsible for unseating Premier Mossadeq in Iran and for toppling the pro-Communist Arbenz government in Guatemala in the 1950's?

A. I cannot comment on these matters.

Q. Basing his claim on an article by Patricia Blake in the April 1963 issue of the magazine ENCONTRE, Vladimir Kochetov says Soviet poet Evtushenko and his friends have been consorting with an American female CIA agent. Miss Blake had described how she and others supped on chocolate and sweet champagne in the Actor's Club in Moscow. Does CIA have female spies and is Miss Blake one as charged?

A. Let the Communists wonder. I have no comment.



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Q. THE NEW YORK TIMES, in its recent series on CIA, and -- before it, the book "The Invisible Government" -- published quite a bit of data pertaining to CIA's apparatus and ways of doing business. Has this been damaging to the Agency and its work?

A. Yes. Anything written about intelligence activities, whether fact or fiction, is potentially damaging to our country's international relations. It also provides grist for the mills of Communist propaganda.

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